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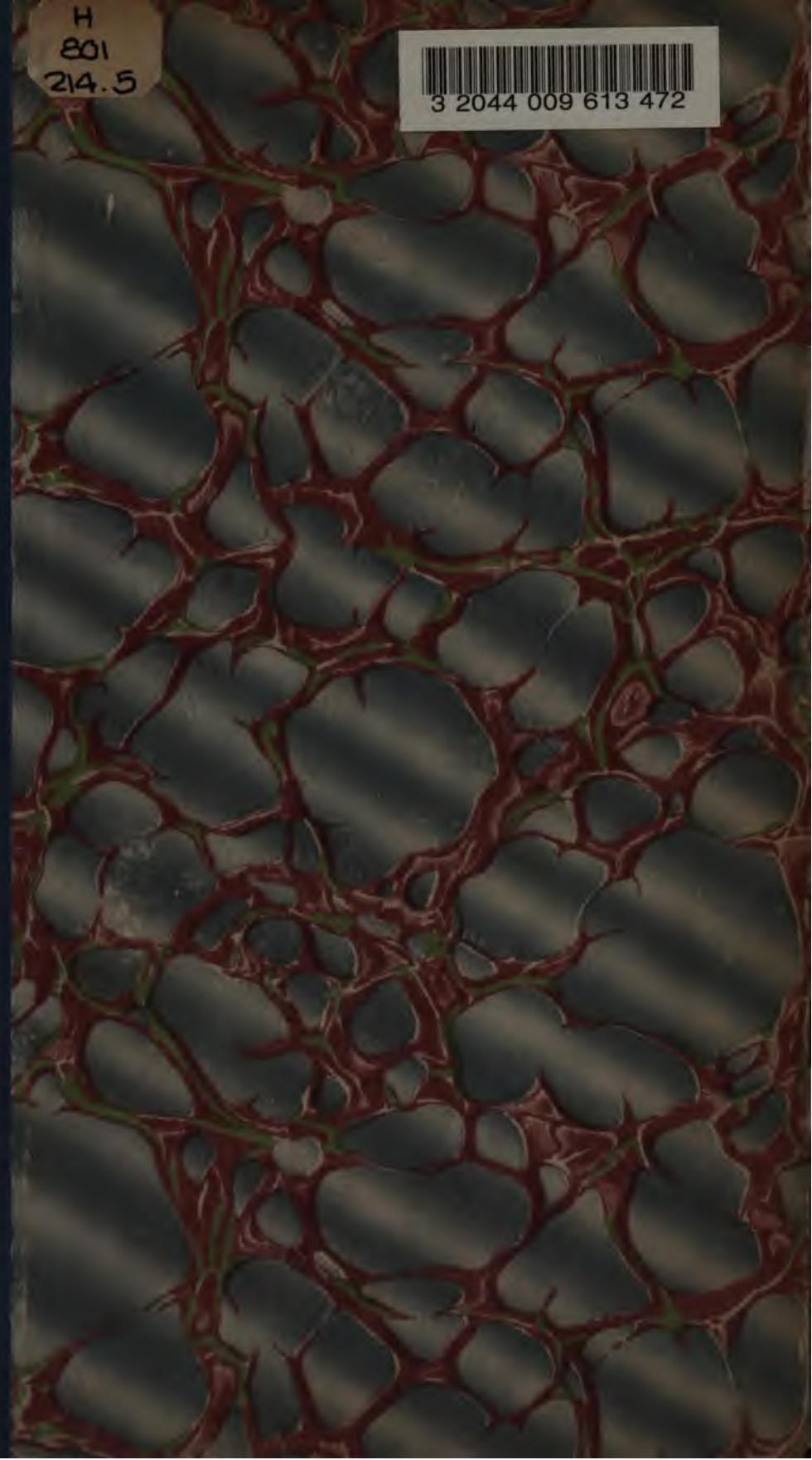
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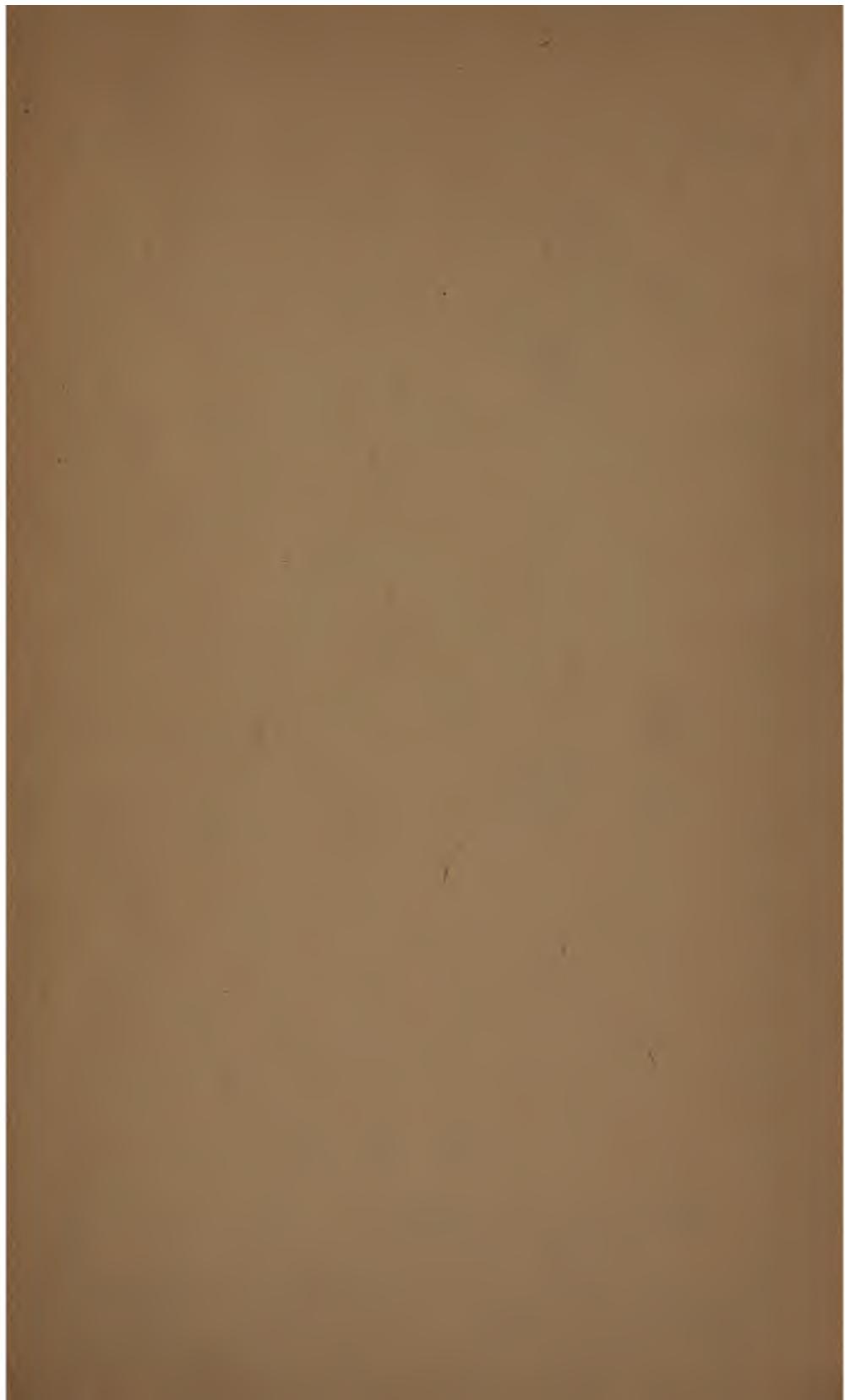
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A Plan for the Settlement of Middle Europe

PARTITION WITHOUT ANNEXATION

BY

Ralph Adams Cram, Litt.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S.



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OF THE PRESENT

NUMBER III

A PLAN FOR
THE SETTLEMENT OF
MIDDLE EUROPE

ON THE PRINCIPLE OF
PARTITION WITHOUT ANNEXATION

By

RALPH ADAMS CRAM, LITT. D., LL. D.
Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society

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A Plan for the Settlement of Middle Europe

AT this stage of the war, it is not unreasonable to anticipate an ending consonant with righteousness, and to consider what must be done, in the case of a Middle Europe defeated in its great conspiracy, forever to prevent this sort of thing happening again. When victory comes and the Central Powers await judgment, not as coördinate members of a diplomatic peace council, but as convicted criminals before the Court of Europe, what is the verdict that will be passed on them in final judgment?

I do not propose to deal with the question of restitution and reparation: this is already determined. All that can be done for the rehabilitation of Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, Roumania, Armenia, will be done. Without this, whatever may be gained nothing would be gained. The question of penalization, as apart from restitution, is beyond the scope of the inquiry. The one point I wish to consider is this. What action is to be taken to make impossible for the future the framing of a plot and the unleashing of a calamity such as have brought the present phase of civilization to an end in horror, failure and humiliation?

So far as Central Europe is concerned, the question is one of territorial disposition, of the delimitation of new frontiers, of the determination of national units. The Teutonic Powers, conscious of the impossibility of seizing the *ignis fatuus* of victory as this danced before them four years ago over the rotting bog of their own spiritual and intellectual degeneration, are fighting now for a restoration of the *status quo ante*. This would mean a more disastrous defeat for Europe than the complete victory of Teutonism, for it would make inevitable another war of the same aim and nature, while a German victory would only establish an intolerable tyranny of evil that within a generation would collapse of its own brutality and by virtue of

its own abominations. Against this the world must fight as against the original menace of a Teutonic hegemony of Europe.

For the same reason, even though restitution is made complete; though in addition Alsace and Lorraine are returned to France, Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, the Trentino and Trieste to Italy, Transylvania to Roumania, and Posen to a restored Poland, neither Germany, Austria-Hungary nor Turkey can be permitted to exist as integral or even potential Empires. "The United States of Europe" is a fond thing vainly imagined: no central "Council of Europe" with nominal authority of coercion through the calling into the field against an offending State of the military forces of all the others, would possess more than a theoretical power, so long as Germany and Austria-Hungary remained substantially of their present dimensions, with their sovereignty intact, their frontiers adjoining, and their strategic position, cutting Europe in halves from the Baltic to the Adriatic, what it is now. Total disarmament, and an enforced prohibition against future armament, would leave them slave States and make them a constant menace to their masters. Complete or partial disarmament of all Europe, in the same proportion for all the States, with an "international police" engineered by the central federal authority, would leave the ratios precisely as they were in 1914, and Germany could at any time, with equal chances of success, draw Austria-Hungary into coalition, and with clubs and scythes and carving knives assault the surrounding States, whose sole resources for self-defence would be the same primitive weapons.

There are two alternatives for the defence of Europe and of civilization against the thing incarnated in Teutonism, with Prussia as its protagonist. Redemption of German character — or partition of the Central Empires.

The first alternative must be disregarded. This is not to say that it is impossible. If the redemption of France, now proceeding before our eyes, is an evidence of what the war is to accomplish in all the nations, then Germany also may be redeemed and made over, but thus far no evidence of this comes through the thundering and smoke-veiled barriers. Rather

the reverse, for as the war proceeds, increasingly the peoples of all Germany sink lower and lower to the original Prussian standard, accepting its objects and motives, endorsing and adopting its methods, however these may degenerate towards barbarism and final savagery. That out of this war the German peoples will rise repentant and regenerated, forsaking what they have been and denouncing what they have done, is a matter for merely academic discussion. At present they have committed moral suicide.

Hope for the future, the guaranty of safety, lies only in partition. Germany and Austria-Hungary must cease forever as territorial units, for so long as they remain approximately what they are now, there can be no safety for Europe, no guaranty that civilization, when it begins again, will be permitted to continue on lines of normal development. Partition, however, as it has been in the past, would be almost as bad as a return to the *status quo*. Foolish as was the Russian revolutionary declaration for "no annexations and no indemnities," treacherous and serpentine as is the socialistic endorsement emanating from, and engendered by, Berlin, there is yet an element of fundamental righteousness lurking in a declaration that has been given a futile or criminal interpretation. The war is now being fought for the overthrow of evil and the reestablishing of a new righteousness, and the old fashion of annexing conquered territory, or the imposing of alien authority on subject peoples, is a part of the evil against which the world is in arms. For this policy Germany stands in frank avowal; if she wins it will be carried out, and all the bordering territory of her opponents will be added to her and to her accomplices. So she will become the greatest Power on earth, both in territory and in potential, even though in the end the subject provinces prove her own ruin. Europe can no more adopt this method than she can sink to the level of reprisals for German atrocities, against enemy women, children and hospitals.

Yet the Empires of Germany and Austria-Hungary must disappear, not only in name but in fact, and the solution may be found in the formula "Partition without Annexation." Let us consider how this may be accomplished, and within what lines.

In the first place, there are certain annexations which are in fact restitutions, and therefore do not fall within the prohibition; Alsace and Lorraine, Schleswig-Holstein, the Trentino, the western half of Istria, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Silesia, Galicia, Bohemia and Moravia, Posen, Constantinople, Armenia, Syria, are all subject provinces of one or another of the Central Powers and Turkey, and must be restored, either to the existing States from which they were taken by act of war, or to their original sovereignty.

With these several provinces cut off from the Central Empires, their areas would be somewhat diminished, but their potentiality would probably be increased through the elimination of subject peoples who had always been, and would probably have remained, uncertain quantities, sometimes rebellious, and therefore an element of possible if not actual weakness. The settlement of Europe must result in the permanent elimination of the grave danger inherent in the Teutonic Empires as centralized units, therefore the next step is partition, but strictly on the basis of no annexations, and with always in view the preservation of racial and linguistic integrity, the maintenance of identity, and full liberty for individual and social development.

Under the later Roman Empire all Europe west of the Rhine and south of the Danube, together with Asia Minor, Syria and North Africa, constituted one centralized and homogeneous State. Broken up during the Dark Ages into the kingdoms of the Franks, East Goths, West Goths and Lombards, and the Byzantine Empire, the European provinces, barring the territory overrun by the Mohammedans, and with the addition of Saxony, Thuringia and Bavaria, coalesced into the empire of Charlemagne, only to split up after his death into three artificially delimited States with uncertain and constantly changing frontiers. About the year 1000 the Holy Roman Empire of the Teutonic Nation was constituted, with France, Burgundy, Poland, Serbia and Bulgaria, as sovereign States, embracing it on the east and west. Within this new Roman Empire grew up the great duchies as workable social units: Lorraine, Saxony, Westphalia, Thuringia, Franconia, Bohemia, Bavaria, Swabia,

Austria, etc. These logical units did not, as a whole, survive the break-up of the Empire, and by the end of the eighteenth century the inexorable process of sub-infeudation had split the Germanic lands, with the exception of Austria and Bavaria, into a tangled chaos of little feudal States, without cohesion, but with a riotous self-consciousness. After the Napoleonic wars coöordination begins again. Austria and Bohemia have become independent, but Prussia has put in an appearance, having made herself out of the last heathen tribes to accept Christianity, plus a province she had stolen from Poland, with another also stolen from Austria. From now on it is merely the story of the irresistible expansion of Prussia at the expense of all the other States of Germany, until at last there remain only an enormous Prussia, a smaller Bavaria, and some eight or ten little States sadly shrunken in territory from the dignity of the proud names they still bear. And now? The names are names only, and from the North Sea and the Baltic to the *Æ*gean and the Adriatic there is only one State, united, self-centred, superbly organized — Prussia. The Holy Roman Empire of the Ottos, minus Italy, but with Hungary and Bohemia and Poland and heathen Prussia added for good measure, and with a Hohenzollern to direct its destinies; not a Saxon or a Franconian, a Hohenstauffen or a Habsburg, but the scion of an unimportant family that had raised itself to power in the dreary lands of the last of the heathen tribes on the shores of the Baltic to come within the circle of European civilization.

In the map I have shown Central Europe more or less as it should be left after a definitive victory by the Allies. It will be seen at once that what is indicated is a proximate return to the status of the Germanic peoples after the end of the Empire and before the aggressions of Prussia had begun. Exact lines of demarkation are not attempted: Silesia, Galicia, Transylvania, Slavonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, all offer intricate problems of race, language, religion, social predilections, that can be determined only after conscientious and disinterested study, and honest consultation with the several peoples involved. When this last element can be clearly determined from the people themselves it should control the action

of Europe. What I have attempted to do is to establish a principle, and this principle is the setting up, in place of two great empires, of ten free, autonomous and completely independent units; homogeneous, individual in character and constituted in accordance with the human scale.

On the west, all of Germany this side of the Rhine (after Alsace and Lorraine have been returned to France) becomes a restored Palatinate. If along the frontiers of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg there are adjoining communities that prefer incorporation with one of these States to forming a part of the Palatinate, they should be permitted to do so, otherwise the frontiers should remain as at present. On the north, at least so much of Schleswig-Holstein as will include and protect the Kiel Canal is returned to Denmark. On the east, Poland, made up of the territories seized by Prussia, Russia and Austria, with Danzig but without Lithuania, is given the frontiers of about 1560, and is made a sovereign and independent kingdom. Here, as in the case of the Palatinate, the exact boundaries must be determined as nearly as possible in accordance with the free voice of the frontier communities.

The extension of Poland to the Baltic through the inclusion of Pomerelia and Danzig leaves, east of the Vistula, a small section of East Prussia, with Marienburg and Königsberg. It is about the size of Belgium and will be known as Prussia, forming the patrimony, and resting under the sovereignty, of the House of Hohenzollern — if the tastes of the people incline in that direction. If the fate of Russia is anarchy and self-dismemberment, as now seems inevitable, the Baltic Provinces, particularly Courland and Livonia, might be added to Prussia. It would serve their German nobility right for the part they have played in Russia during the last two centuries.

In the case of Roumania, probably the major portion of Transylvania should be incorporated, together with Bukowina and the Roumanian portions of the Banat. Bessarabia also is ethnically Roumanian, and must be restored, but the slice of Bulgaria taken at the Treaty of Bucharest should be returned. In this case, together with that of the new frontiers in the Balkans, the lines must be determined almost after a

fluid fashion. It will take years to adjust them, but the principle is clear, and that is that they must be established as nearly as possible on the lines of nationality, speech and religion, and in substantial accordance with the wishes of the people, expressed clearly and freely. How this may be accomplished will be indicated later on.

In general terms, Bulgaria remains as it was except that the strip of the Dobrudscha is given back; Greece remains as at present, possibly with minor frontier rectifications; Albania is reconstituted (though not under the sovereignty of William of Wied), receiving certain towns now included in Serbia and Montenegro that logically form a part of Albanian territory. There is already a tacit understanding amongst the several peoples involved, that after the war Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and the country of the Slovenes shall coalesce in one great Slavic State under King Peter of Serbia. If this is the deliberate will of the peoples concerned, it should be faithfully carried out, and I have shown this Greater Serbia on my map, though I have not included Carinthia and Carniola, the Slovene territory, feeling that very possibly in the end the voice of this people might be for a continued union with Austria, Fiume forming then the Austrian seaport. Of course the whole question of the Southern Slavs is a problem of incredible difficulty and one that must be solved primarily in accordance with the desires of the several peoples, but the important point is that the Southern Slavs of the Dual Monarchy must be released from their state of subjugation and given an opportunity to work out their own destiny either in conjunction with Serbia or independently.

Constantinople, with the Thracian remains of "Turkey in Europe" together with the lands along the Sea of Marmora and the Ægean, becomes a new Byzantium, independent but bound to keep forever open the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. It must be admitted it will be a polyglot and a more or less artificial state, Greek, Levantine, Turkish; but Constantinople can no longer remain Turkish, it can become neither Greek nor Russian nor Bulgarian, and its constitution as a "free city" under international guarantees, is as impracticable as it would

be insecure. As civilization begins again after the war it is bound to work its way eastward into Asia Minor, redeeming an impoverished but once fertile land. How far, in anticipation of this inevitable event, it may be possible to go at present is a question, but enough of the coast line should be taken to link up with Smyrna, and of a sufficient depth to be strategically tenable.

I have shown the future Turkey with a short frontage on the Sea of Marmora, including Brusa which is Turkish to the core. This may or may not be judicious, while it is also possible that altogether too much of the land back from the Ægean sea-coast has been included in the suggested Byzantium. The Turkish problem is equal to that of the Balkans in complexity. With the permanent cutting-off of all the lands that were Armenian before the massacres; with the freeing of Mesopotamia, Arabia and the Holy Land, the future empire of the Ottoman Turks will be practically restricted to Asia Minor, and in the process of time, if the new Byzantium is at the outset predominantly Greek, as it should be, this civilization will slowly work its way back over the lands that were the most fertile and highly cultured of the world of fifteen centuries ago.

We now come to the question of the treatment to be accorded Germany and what is left of Austria-Hungary. Taking the latter first, it is divided into three independent kingdoms: (1) the German-speaking provinces, or Austria proper, with Carniola, and with Fiume as a seaport; (2) Hungary, reduced in size by racial adjustments in Galicia, Transylvania and Slavonia; and (3) a reconstituted Kingdom of Bohemia which will include Moravia, and as I have shown it, Silesia. In the case of the latter territory, and of Croatia, racial and social affiliations are baffling in the extreme. When the desires of the people are consulted it may very well be that Silesia will split up into three sections, one remaining annexed to the nearest German State, one uniting with Bohemia, one with Poland. As for Croatia, something of the same kind may happen, and a tripartite division take place between Austria, Hungary and the new Slavonia, or greater Serbia, as the case may be. On my own map I have shown it wholly incorporated in a new Slavonic State,

where it would seem to belong by right of blood and language. Germany, after the excision, or rather emancipation, of the lands west of the Rhine, the return of Schleswig-Holstein, and the incorporation of Posen in the reconstituted Kingdom of Poland, falls naturally into three parts: (1) A southern Catholic State comprising Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden; (2) Saxony, which will include Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Pomerania; and (3) Hanover, or Westphalia, which will comprise all the rest to the Netherlands and the Rhine. Just where the frontier lines should be drawn is, within certain limitations, the affair of the people themselves, but territorially the three new kingdoms should be approximately of equal area.

To recapitulate: The outlying provinces of Germany and Austria-Hungary which have been acquired by conquest, or are racially and linguistically alien by a preponderating majority and akin to the State each adjoins, are to be returned or annexed to these States. In the case of Poland, sovereignty is to be re-created to permit the re-integration of the three sections now incorporated in Russia, Prussia and Austria-Hungary. In the case of the Jugo-Slavs the wishes of the people themselves should determine their destiny as between a new State or incorporation in a greater Serbia. The names "German Empire" and "Austro-Hungarian Monarchy" are stricken from the map, and nine new sovereignties take their place.

In this there is no injustice. Complete restoration of the sovereignty and frontiers of the States invaded by the Central Powers during the war is the first object of the war, and without this, whatever else may be gained, there is no victory. The same holds good of Alsace-Lorraine, and also of Schleswig-Holstein, Poland, Silesia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, the Trentino, Trieste and Dalmatia. G. K. Chesterton has put the case well when he says, "We justify this war because it is a war to undo the work of criminals. We are more anti-annexationist than those internationalists who talk vaguely against annexations. We wish to undo the evil that annexation has done; not to treat as unthinkable the annexation proposed on Thursday while treating as sacred the annexations effected on Tuesday." With the fall of the Teutonic tyranny Europe will have the

chance to undo and make amends for the long series of political outrages effected by the Teutons, and in the interest of the peoples involved, as well as in that of abstract justice, every province annexed by Germany or Austria-Hungary must be liberated and restored to its original sovereignty.

There is no injustice in the partitioning of the remainder of the two empires. Extension of neighbouring sovereignty over them, in whole or in part, would be only a repetition of the accomplished or contemplated crimes of which they themselves have been, or would to be, guilty, and is not to be considered, for this also is one of the objects of the war: the ending forever of the old system of arbitrary annexations and the placing of conquered peoples under alien sovereignty against their will. Partition without loss of autonomy, indeed even with increased independence, does violence to no principle of equity; it gives each group full liberty of self-development, while it should, and in many cases undoubtedly would, mean a stronger sense of local pride, national self-consciousness and personal liberty. Hungary, Saxony, Bohemia, were political and social entities of greater honour, vigour and prestige while they were severally independent, even though small in territory, than they have been since their merging in great Empires where their identity was lost and they paid a tribute to an ever-growing imperialism, for the sake of winning and retaining markets, sometimes artificially created, for a surplus production stimulated and fostered to supply these markets when they were found and while they were retained.

Apart from Poland, the complete reconstitution of which in absolute sovereignty is another *sine qua non* of peace, there can be no question but that Saxony, Hanover, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary, as independent States, would be susceptible of a more normal, sane and wholesome development than was possible under the conditions that existed before the war. The history of each, after the ending of the Carolingian Empire, is full of vigour, heroism, exalted character; this is true also under the Holy Roman Empire, when the several States were still practically autonomous. The epoch of feudal decentralization is only an episode, the period of modern im-

perialism but an interlude. Let the several States now reassume their own independence, reassert their inherent individuality, and, taking up their history where it was cut off by imperial madness, go on to redeem themselves from the stigma burned into them by a Prussian war, and to build new history on the old and honourable lines.

Without the blotting out of the name and the fact of Germany this would be impossible, and the same is true of Austria-Hungary, for she has not escaped, and cannot escape, the odium that attaches to her ally and over-lord. From the first day of the war — and before — Germany has followed a cynical and consistent policy of violating every law of honour, every custom of decency. She has said, "Evil, be thou my good," and has built up a pyramid of lies, brutality and crime, unparalleled in history, that would brand forever the name and nationality of "German." To the end of time this word can only stand as the incarnation of malignant falsity and obscene bloodthirstiness, aggravated and intensified by a kind of devilish and consummate ingenuity. There is no penalty man could devise to impose upon her, so ruthless and annihilating as the leaving to her people the name of "German," or the retention on the map of Europe of the name of "German Empire."

No matter who says it, the quarrel of the world is not with the German Government, in contradistinction from the German people, for three years have proved that the criminal insanity in high places has extended through every class and through every one of the federated States. The war is with Teutonism, of which Potsdam and Berlin are but the mouth-pieces; but this does not mean that a nucleus of sanity may not remain in every State (with the possible exception of Prussia), or that it may not be reconstituted as a result of the drastic purgation of war. The world cannot look forward to a Central Europe as an eternal pariah, ostracized, outlawed and buried in the oblivion of its own sins. In some way the fine old qualities of Saxony and Thuringia, of Swabia and Bavaria, of Franconia and the Rhineland, must be rediscovered, restored, and used as a basis on which may be built up a life that will expiate an interlude of infamy, and restore to a once

great race its forfeited self-respect. Partition such as that described is not penalization but possible redemption.

The substitution of ten States for two — or eleven for three if you count Bulgaria — will evidently involve a great number of questions demanding settlement, not only now but in the future; questions of the determination of frontiers in harmony with the desires of the people, the allotment and collection of indemnities for the destruction done during the war, the basis and extent of future armament, the prevention of unjust discrimination against one State by another in matters of trade, the opening up and maintaining of free lines of transport and communication by land and water, as, for example, the Kiel Canal, the Danube, the Dardanelles, and interstate railways and canals, guaranteeing the interior States, such as Bavaria, Bohemia and Hungary, right of access to the sea. The dangers of internecine warfare and of the possibility of confederations or leagues for war and conquest will still exist, while the peril to small States from their great neighbours will be the same as that which menaced, and in the end ruined, Belgium and Serbia. For all these reasons, as well as the now manifest evidence that, once the Teutonic powers are beaten, all Europe will begin to think of itself continentally as well as individually, there must be a definite centre of visible and potent European authority, with power to deal with all international questions, but with no local authority whatever in the case of the several States themselves. This must be not an impotent "Hague Tribunal," but a permanent, authoritative, supreme source of power, and court of final appeal in all secular affairs. It is suggested that the city and district of Trèves be made this "Capital of Europe"; a city of enormous antiquity, marked by the tradition of supreme secular power under the Roman emperors, and well guarded by its surrounding States — France, Luxembourg and the Palatinate. This "Federal City" would be inviolable and under the joint guarantee of all the nations of Europe. Here would be permanently assembled a Congress of Ambassadors representing all the States in Europe, under the presidency of a Supreme Executive chosen by the Congress and holding office for life. This Congress of Europe would deal

first with the many questions arising out of the war, the determination of the details of new frontiers and the erection of new States, the division and collection of indemnities, the establishing of a new basis and ratio of armament, the proclamation and guaranteeing of free waterways and arteries of distribution, the adjusting of economic and industrial relations between the European States, the devising a plan for a true freedom of the seas and for guaranteeing this in perpetuity, and finally the determining and enforcing of international law.

The chief function of the Congress would, however, be the dealing with the current international relations between the States of Europe. It would be far more than a council of arbitration or a Hague Tribunal, but far less than a sovereign *imperium*. Nothing like a "United States of Europe" is contemplated. Each and every State should maintain its independence and autonomy, with full power to determine its own system of government, carry on its own legislation, manage its internal and external affairs, with no sacrifice of sovereignty. The Congress would act as a court of arbitration in all questions at issue between any two of the European nations, and each would be bound by treaty, previous to taking individual action, to submit to the Congress for a settlement any question that threatened a quarrel, though it should have the right to refuse to accept the decision of the Congress. Economic or martial war cannot wholly be prevented, and it is doubtful if an eternal and universal world-peace would be advantageous. Wars, however, whatever their nature, must be conducted within certain limits of decency, with regard to moral and international law, and subject to solemn treaties and pledged words. The Congress of Europe, while without power to interfere in war of any kind between two States so long as these principles were not violated, would have the right to act against any State that broke the Law of Europe, and with coercive power that would be final. In the case of the Great War, for example, while it could not have denied the right of Germany to mobilize against Russia and France, and to wage war against them, it would instantly have acted in such cases as the viola-

tion of Belgium, the sinking of the *Lusitania*, the murdering of civilians or their deportation, the use of poison gas, the war against neutral commerce, etc. Any nation at war with another, that began anything of the kind, would be promptly ordered to stop or take the consequences, and the consequences would be: first, a proclamation of outlawry, with an enforcement of non-intercourse on the part of all the other States; second, military operations on the part of all the other countries of Europe, whose military and naval forces might be commandeered *in toto* and would be called into the service of the Congress should the occasion demand.

Industrial warfare to crush another State would not be permitted either to one State or a coalition. The right of free access to seaports for interior States, whether by waterways or on land, would be safeguarded, and certain great highways, such as the Kiel Canal, the Dardanelles, the Danube and other great rivers would be proclaimed as public thoroughfares and their inviolability maintained by force if necessary.

The Congress would be the guardian of the public morals of Europe. The relationship between capital and labour would be in its keeping, together with the great agrarian and industrial problems that demand immediate solution, though in these matters it could only have advisory and appellate jurisdiction, without coercive power. In education, mercy and scientific development it should act as investigator and adviser to all the nations, and the Imperial City should become a centre of development for the arts and letters. In a word, it would form the federating centre of Europe, the court of final appeal in international questions, and a supreme guiding and directing authority in secular affairs.

 The essence of the Christian civilization of the Middle Ages was its human scale. It was a great unity built up of groups organized on the basis of human association. Decentralization was its strength and its virtue. Men lived and worked in manageable human units — feudal estates, parishes, guilds, communes, free cities, monasteries, orders of knighthood, colleges, principalities, small kingdoms. With the Renaissance came in the idea of nationalism, which bloated into imperial-

ism; and during the nineteenth century this imperialism became an insanity and an incubus. For seventy years the imperialism of the world has invaded and destroyed individual rights, abolished wholesome human associations, substituted phrases and symbols for the coördinating and stimulating force of fellowship, and become in the end nothing more than the concentrating of power, and the employment of power, for the capturing and localizing of trade, the creation of markets, and the exploiting both of proletarian labour and the savage or "backward" races and communities of the globe.

The world after the war will bear about the same relationship to the world before the war that the Dark Ages bore to Roman Imperialism, or if we are optimistic, we may say that Mediævalism bore to the Dark Ages. One difference, ultimately to be achieved even if it is not the first fruits of the war, will be the disappearance of the bloated and artificial and polyglot Empires of the nineteenth century, and the rising in their place of comparatively small States, free, independent, but leagued together under the unifying power of a federal council and a single elective executive, that will protect them and urge them onward but without infringing on their sovereignty.

The process can begin with Germany, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, for they have achieved the *reductio ad absurdum* of imperialism and revealed its menace, while the Allied Powers of the world will be in a position, once the war is ended, to enforce on them the first of the great reforms that are bound to follow the war. Will the process go further? Undoubtedly. Already Russia is moving in this direction, and sooner or later Finland, Lithuania, the Ukraine and Armenia will join the reconstructed Poland as sovereign communities. The British Empire even now closely approaches the ideal, and the concession of full sovereignty to many of her colonies and dependencies is bound to come as soon as the imperial idea receives its deathblow in the War for the Ending of Imperialism. There are States so homogeneous that subdivision is now inconceivable, as, for example, France, which can never again resolve itself into Normandy, Burgundy, France, and Navarre. The

Scandinavian States are now of workable size and of human scale, as are Italy and Spain, and it may be said that these form about the largest territorial units that can be considered as reasonable States. Whether the process of fission and decentralization will extend further remains to be seen. Prophecy is dangerous and unprofitable. The tendency towards a definite break-up of the gross, imperial aggregates has now begun. That it will continue without interruption until the last Empire has ceased, and men regain both their freedom and their fellowship through small States of human scale, is clearly written in the books of destiny.

It may be said, indeed it already has been said, that such a plan as this, falling short as it does of the full scheme of a "League of Nations," would, "by operating in delay of that movement, constitute reversion and not progress." This criticism is based on the assumption that complete "world-union" is possible and also desirable. Both these assumptions I believe to be untenable. In the first place, the phrase "A League of Nations" is misleading if it is applied to a collection of all the States in the world, large and small, from Great Britain to Haiti; Caucasian, Mongol or Negro; united under one sovereign *imperium* which alone would wield the "power of the sword." This would not be a "league of nations," but an Imperial State coterminous with the world, and made up of a miscellaneous collection of ill-assorted provinces. In the arguments I have seen for such a "league of nations" no State is to maintain a military establishment or be permitted to wage a war of offence or defence. The military power by land and sea and air is to be in the supreme control of the central governing body, and may be used either for the coercion of recalcitrant members or for the forcing of obedience to such laws or judicial decisions as may emanate from the central body.

If this is the idea, then it is absurd to speak of any element of sovereignty remaining to the component parts; national sovereignty is abrogated, and there remain no more than subject provinces in a colossal Imperialism. The States of the American Union are sovereign only in name, so are the

German States: they are provinces, pure and simple, with no more essential sovereignty than the departments of France or the counties of England. No State is sovereign that submits to any outside coercion, or even direction, of its citizens; that is subject to any outside interference in all or any one of its internal affairs; that has not the right to make all its own laws covering every field of action within its own borders, or that cannot maintain its own military arm to maintain order at home and exact respect abroad. If those who are working for a world-union that involves surrender of any or all of these elements of sovereignty, honestly want a kind of Super-Imperialism beside which Rome would have been parochial, let them say so, in order that the contest may be carried on fairly; but let them not delude themselves that what they are trying for will be a "League of Nations," for it will be nothing of the kind; it will be a Super-Nation, one and indivisible, for the brief term it endures; a term that would probably be something less than two years.

There is no fear, however, that the experiment will be tried. Neither the oligarchies that govern nor the mobs that are governed are by way of exhibiting any very profound acumen in matters touching government, but it is safe to say that they would never consent to such a sacrifice of nationality and abrogation of sovereignty. In spite of pacifists and "internationalists," and the profiteers who alone would benefit from the unimaginable merger, every people in the world cherishes the sanctity of its own nationality and the honour of its own sovereignty, in such wise, and to so exalted a degree, that when the test came both would be valorously defended to the bitter end. Yet some measure of common action, some degree of union, is necessary if a barrier is to be built up against the assault, ever again, of a horror such as that by which now we are being purged. This is not the only element in the necessary defence, it is only one of many, and by no means the first in importance; still it is essential, and if the Super-Imperialism is an unthinkable and unobtainable monstrosity, what have we to take its place?

I see nothing better than the scheme I have outlined above:

S independent, autonomous, sovereign States, who surrender nothing to any power outside themselves, but who raise up a new Central, Effective Agency, possessed of original jurisdiction, and plenary power to *determine, defend and enforce International Law*. Nothing of sovereignty is surrendered by any State, for the fixing and enforcing of international law is not of the *esse* of local sovereignty. We have always cherished something we called international law; a series of rules and principles based on custom irradiated by the once common sense of honour and decency. From time to time it was added to or modified by nations that thought themselves strong enough to impose their will on others. Very generally it was adhered to, although no effective coercive force stood behind it. It dissolved into thin air the moment one nation was found which had emancipated itself from old subservience to such superstitions as honour, decency and the sanctity of the pledged word, and believed itself strong enough to denounce, disregard and defy the thing that others had held themselves in honour bound to respect. What we must aim at now is definite formulation of international law, and its effective enforcement by a central, representative body, without power to interfere in the internal affairs of any State, but competent to call to its aid, for the preservation of international law, all the coercive powers maintained by the States themselves.

X While I have no will to go into the details of organization of this central power or of the relations between it and the States of Europe, there is one point that has a bearing on the general principle, and that is the question of disarmament, or rather of the basis of the military establishments of the States. Under some of the schemes for a "League of Nations" there is proposed a total prohibition to the so-called nations (more properly provinces) of military and naval establishments, the central power maintaining its own "international police force" by land and sea and air. As such a scheme might, and "in the depravity of human nature" probably would, result in a greater tyranny than any the world has ever known, or autocrats and socialists have ever dreamed of, it cannot seriously be considered. Nevertheless, in the end, laws rest on force, and there

can be no Law without force, latent but effective, in the background. Is there any reason why, by their common action, and not as the result of decrees issuing from the central authority (whatever it may be), the States should not prohibit by Law the maintenance of standing armies, while permitting universal military service, with perhaps two years with the colours, for all male citizens? This would give an available body of men for emergency action at home, for exterior war if this became necessary, and to furnish the central guardians of international law with coercive forces should the need for them arise. The naval problem and that of air service are more difficult of solution. Rigid international laws providing for the immunity of all merchant marine whether neutral or belonging to a belligerent nation (unless engaged in carrying troops or munitions of war), and of all cities and towns not recognized and registered as fortresses, would simplify matters to a large degree.

In the end, however, the question comes down to that of the dissolution of the great Empires, with their endless colonies and dependencies, and the substitution of territorial units which ought not to exceed fifty millions of population or two hundred thousand square miles in area. The whole colonial system, as this grew to be during the nineteenth century, ought to disappear, and if this were eliminated the problem of great naval establishments would pretty well solve itself. In any case, comparatively small States would hardly be in a position where it would be financially possible for them to maintain the exaggerated military and naval establishments fashionable in the immediate past, particularly in view of the fact that the war has already piled up a money indebtedness, wiped out so large a proportion of surplus capital, and so seriously reduced man power, that any creditable system of finance must make non-productive expenditures impossible for so long a time that the habit of spending half the normal revenue on armies and navies will have been overcome by the time it is possible again.

To return to my statement that a Super-Imperialism is not only impracticable but undesirable, let me say something on

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the second point. There are those who hold that since the world-method for the last five hundred years has been a consistent development of the Imperial idea, working always towards greater and greater aggregates in nations, industry, commerce, finance, and even in housing units, therefore any immediate development that is in the line of advance must of necessity follow the same course. Anything else is felt to run counter to the methods of automatic evolution; hence, of course, it is unscientific and therefore unthinkable. Abandonment of the Imperial aggregate and a return to the unit of human scale, particularly in the social organism, — specifically such a partitioning of the Central Empires as I suggest, — is held to be not only a deterrent to the Super-Imperialism, but an impossible violation of a method that has held triumphantly for two hundred years. Precisely; that is why I suggest it. The war is revealing many things, and none more clearly than that, in order to avoid such a catastrophe again, we have got to revise our standards of comparative values and reverse many of our methods of operation. The centripetal force (working in more things than society and politics) has resulted in Imperialism, and Imperialism — in industry, commerce, finance and nationality — has resulted in the war. Therefore, as a mere measure of self-protection, we must reorganize society and the world along lines the reverse of those we have followed for several centuries, with the war as the revealed goal.

Fortunately the world does not always follow the same lines of development, and it is rather a mistake to assume that it does — or should, for that matter. Let me quote an illuminating passage from Chesterton's "The Napoleon of Notting Hill."

"All these clever men were prophesying with every variety of ingenuity what would happen soon, and they all did it in the same way, by taking something they saw 'going strong' as the saying is, and carrying it as far as ever their imagination could stretch. This, they said, was the true and simple way of anticipating the future. 'Just as,' said Dr. Pellkins in a fine passage, — 'just as when we see a pig in a litter larger

than the other pigs, we know that by an unalterable law of the Inscrutable it will some day be larger than an elephant, — just as we know, when we see weeds and dandelions growing more and more thickly in a garden, that they must, in spite of all our efforts, grow taller than the chimney-pots and swallow the house from sight, so we know and reverently acknowledge, that when any power in human politics has shown for any period of time any considerable activity, it will go on until it reaches to the sky."

By his irresistible *reductio ad absurdum*, Mr. Chesterton has made unnecessary any argument to prove the untenable nature of the claim that, because Imperialism after two centuries of logical and cumulative development has at last brought ruin on modern civilization, Super-Imperialism is the only thing that can bring salvation out of catastrophe and make possible a more fortunate future.

The war must have issue in many things: the territorial and material restoration of Belgium; the return of the lost provinces to France, together with adequate pecuniary compensation for the devastation of the invaded district; surrender of all the stolen territories, from Schleswig to Herzegovina, from Posen to the Trentino; the re-creation of Poland and Bohemia, the freeing of the Southern Slavs, the restoration and augmentation of Roumania, the elimination of the Turk from Europe, Armenia, Arabia, the Holy Land. It must mean the placing of the Teutonic powers where never again so long as the world lasts will they ever be able to threaten the world with the menace of a German autocracy. It must establish in perpetuity the principle of the self-determination of all peoples. It must result in some true League of Nations that will at least determine and enforce an honourable and righteous code of international law. All these things must come to pass, and many others besides; but if above and beyond them there does not come a new standard of comparative values, a restoration of the qualitative in place of the quantitative standard, the elimination of Imperialism in State and industry and trade and finance and human life; if finally we do not gain out of it all a new sense of the fundamental importance of

the unit of human scale, in all the acts and the associations of man, then, whatever is gained, the major benefit, and the assurance of a new life and the continuance of a reformed society, will have been lost.

Providence is placing in our hands the opportunity to begin the work in the case of an enemy soon to be defeated. Let us begin there.



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